

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK FLASH

S E C R E T STATE 056222

NODIS

EYES ONLY AMB YOUNG

FOLLOWING REPEAT DAR ES SALAAM 0940, SENT SECSTATE 3 MARCH

QUOTE S E C R E T DAR ES SALAAM 0940

NODIS CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2

TAGS: PDEV, RH, TZ

SUBJECT: NYERERE LETTER FOR PRESIDENT CARTER

REF: DAR ES SALAAM 0939

1. PRESIDENT NYERERE'S PERSONAL ASSISTANT DELIVERED COPY OF LETTER TO PRESIDENT CARTER TO MY HOUSE NIGHT OF MARCH 3 WITH PRESIDENT NYERERE'S REQUEST FOR URGENT TRANSMISSION TONIGHT TO PRESIDENT CARTER. ORIGINAL WILL BE SENT THROUGH TANZANIAN EMBASSY WASHINGTON. LETTER FOLLOWS:

2. BEGIN TEXT:DEAR PRESIDENT CARTER,
TODAY I HAVE HAD TWO LONG DISCUSSIONS WITH YOUR
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AMBASSADOR TO TANZANIAN ABOUT RHODESIA, AND IN PARTICULAR ABOUT MY CONVICTION THAT ONLY THE IMMEDIATE CALLING OF A FULL CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT CAN SAVE THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS AND THE CHANCES OF A PEACEFUL TRANSFER OF POWER IN ZIMBABWE. AMBASSADOR SPAIN WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE SENDING A FULL REPORT TO YOU. THE PURPOSE OF THIS LETTER IS THEREFORE TO EMPHASIZE THE

INTENSITY OF MY WORRY ABOUT RECENT DEVELOPMENTS, AND TO
OUTLINE THE MAIN BASIS OF THAT WORRY.

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS WERE ACCEPTED BY AFRICA,
BACKED UP BY THE UNITED NATIONS, AND ACCEPTED AS A BASIS FOR
NEGOTIATIONS BY ALL THE NATIONALIST GROUPS OF ZIMBABWE.
I MYSELF HAVE BEEN WORKING ACTIVELY IN SUPPORT OF THESE
PROPOSALS, PARTICULARLY WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, ONLY
URGING CLARIFICATION AND NEGOTIATION ABOUT THE DETAILS OF
THE RESPECTIVE POWERS TO BE HELD BY LORD CARVER AND THE
ZIMBABWE NATIONALISTS DURING THE INTERIM BEFORE ELECTIONS.

THE MEETING BETWEEN THE PATRIOTIC FRONT LEADERS AND
DAVID OWEN AND ANDREW YOUNG, HELD IN JANUARY AT MALTA, WENT
WELL; PROGRESS WAS MADE ACCORDING TO THE REPORTS I RECEIVED.
BUT SINCE THEN THERE HAS BEEN NO FURTHER ACTION IN SUPPORT
OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS. INSTEAD THERE HAS BEEN
MORE WAITING TO SEE WHAT COMES OUT OF THE SALISBURY TALKS,
AND EVEN SOME STATEMENTS IN BOTH BRITAIN AND AMERICA
INDICATING THAT PERHAPS THE 'INTERNAL SETTLEMENT' MIGHT AFTER
ALL PRODUCE A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM.

I AM EXTREMELY WORRIED ABOUT THE PROBABLE CONSEQUENCES
OF SUCH A CONTINUED FAILURE BY BRITAIN AND AMERICA TO SEIZE
THE INITIATIVE FROM SMITH. FOR I AM CONVINCED THAT SMITH'S
PURPOSE HAS NOT CHANGED AT ALL; HE STILL WANTS TO MAINTAIN
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THE POWER OF THE MINORITY IN RHODESIA. THE COMBINATION OF
PRESSURES WHICH HAVE BEEN MOUNTED AGAINST HIM, HOWEVER,
HAVE FORCED SMITH TO ADOPT A NEW STRATEGY, AND NEW TACTICS.
BUT THE PURPOSE OF THE NEW TACTICS IS THE DISSIPATION OF
THE PRESSURES. HE NOW SEEKS TO CREATE THE FACADE OF A
GOVERNMENT IN WHICH BLACKS ARE INVOLVED, AND PERHAPS EVEN
IN A MAJORITY, BUT IN WHICH THE LEVERS OF REAL POWER ARE
ALL CONTROLLED BY THE MINORITY.

WHAT SMITH DOES WANT, AND WHAT HE BELIEVES HE MAY
BE ABLE TO GET BY HIS 'INTERNAL SETTLEMENT' IS FOR AMERICA
AND BRITAIN AND OTHER WESTERN POWERS TO GIVE SOME KIND OF
RECOGNITION AND SUPPORT TO ANY GOVERNMENT HE MANAGES TO SET
UP IN SALISBURY. IDEALLY HE HOPES TO GET WESTERN HELP IN
FIGHTING THE NATIONALIST GUERRILLAS, BUT EVEN IF THAT DOES
NOT MATERIALISE, HE BELIEVES THAT BEHIND THE FACADE OF SUCH
A GOVERNMENT HE CAN GET AN END TO THE PRESENT ANGLO-AMERICAN
PRESSURES IN SUPPORT OF A REAL TRANSFER OF POWER WITHIN
ZIMBABWE.

BY THE INTEREST WHICH IS NOW BEING EXPRESSED IN THE
'INTERNAL SETTLEMENT' AND ITS OUTCOME, I BELIEVE THAT WE ARE

IN GRAVE DANGER OF FALLING INTO THIS TRAP. I DO UNDERSTAND THE POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES WHICH THIS SMITH STRATEGY CAUSES THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN PARTICULAR, AND YOUR OWN ADMINISTRATION TO SOME EXTENT. BUT IF MY ANALYSIS OF SMITH'S OBJECTIVES IS CORRECT - AND I THINK EVERY DAY'S EVENTS SUPPORT IT - THEN THE EFFECT OF A FAILURE TO ACT NOW IN SUPPORT OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS IS LIKELY TO BE DISASTROUS.

FIRST, IT WILL FINALLY CONVINCE THE 'INTERNAL NATIONALISTS' THAT THEY WERE RIGHT IN DISREGARDING THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS: THIS WILL MEAN A FINAL POLARISATION OF THE DIVISIONS AMONG THE DIFFERENT AFRICAN GROUPS.

SECONDLY, BECAUSE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WILL BE QUITE
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UNABLE TO ACCEPT A 'SETTLEMENT' WHICH LEAVES THE MINORITY POWER VIRTUALLY INTACT, THEY WILL STEP UP THE WAR. WE SILL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THAT WAR. BUT THERE WILL BE IMMENSE PRESSURES ON YOUR GOVERNMENT, AND THAT OF BRITAIN, TO GIVE ACTIVE SUPPORT TO THE SO-CALLED NEW REGIME IN SALISBURY AS IT 'FIGHTS AGAINST COMMUNISM'. EVEN IF IT IS POSSIBLE FOR YOUR ADMINISTRATION, AND THAT OF THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT IN BRITAIN, TO WITHSTAND SUCH PRESSURES, YOU WOULD PROBABLY FIND IT NECESSARY AT LEAST TO WITHDRAW YOUR ACTIVE OPPOSITION TO THE SALISBURY GOVERNMENT. IN THAT CASE, THE WEST WILL AGAIN FIND ITSELF IN OPPOSITION TO THE VAST MAJORITY OF AFRICAN STATES, AND ESPECIALLY TO THE FRONT LINE STATES. AND YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, WILL HAVE LOST A HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY IN AFRICA.

YET I BELIEVE THAT EVEN NOW, IF THERE IS ACTION QUICKLY ENOUGH, IT IS POSSIBLE TO RESCUE THE SITUATION AND AVOID THE EVILS WHICH I HAVE TRIED TO OUTLINE ABOVE. I THEREFORE WROTE A FEW DAYS AGO TO PRIME MINISTER CALLAGHAN, URGING AS STRONGLY AS I AM ABLE TO DO THAT BRITAIN SHOULD CALL A FULL-SCALE CONFERENCE ON RHODESIA, TO DISCUSS AND FINALISE THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS. THIS WOULD INVOLVE AN INVITATION TO ALL THOSE RHODESIANS INVOLVED IN THE STRUGGLE - THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AS WELL AS THE 'INTERNAL NATIONALISTS'. AND THE PURPOSE WOULD BE TO NARROW THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE BRITISH AND THE PATRIOTIC FRONT REGARDING THE POWERS OF THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER, AND TO SEE WHAT POSITIVE ELEMENTS CAN BE TAKEN FROM THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT AND INCLUDED IN A FINAL SETTLEMENT.

AMBASSADOR SPAIN HAS EXPLAINED TO ME THE WORRY WHICH YOUR GOVERNMENT HAS ABOUT THIS SUGGESTION. YOU FEAR THAT SUCH A CONFERENCE MIGHT FAIL, AND BELIEVE THAT IF IT DOES THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS WOULD THEN BE FINISHED AS
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PRACTICAL POLITICS.

MY OWN VIEW IS DIFFERENT. I ACCEPT THAT THERE IS A RISK INVOLVED IN CALLING THE CONFERENCE, BUT I BELIEVE THAT THERE IS A GREATER RISK IN FAILING TO DO SO. FOR A FAILURE TO CALL SUCH A CONFERENCE IS CERTAIN TO BE THE END OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS.

I CERTAINLY KNOW THAT IT IS GOING TO BE POLITICALLY IMPOSSIBLE FOR ME TO GIVE ANY MORE SUPPORT TO THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS ONCE THE PRESENT 'INTEREST IN THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT' HAS GONE MUCH FURTHER ALONG ITS PRESENT DRIFT TOWARDS A KIND OF SYMPATHY WITH THEM. OF COURSE I CAN ONLY SPEAK FOR MYSELF, BUT I IMAGINE THAT MY COLLEAGUES IN THE OTHER FRONT LINE STATES WILL FIND THEMSELVES IN A SIMILAR POSITION. WE ALL WANT THE WAR IN ZIMBABWE TO BE BROUGHT TO AN END. BUT WE CANNOT ACCEPT A MIRAGE AS IF IT WERE A REALITY, AND PEACE WOULD NOT LAST VERY LONG EVEN IF WE TRIED TO DO SO.

THUS, AS I SEE IT, IF SUCH A CONFERENCE SHOULD FAIL, THE WORST THAT CAN HAPPEN IS A CONTINUATION OF THE PRESENT POSITION IN WHICH THE WEST AND AFRICA AND THE REST OF THE WORLD ARE ON THE SAME SIDE, LOOKING FORWARD TO A TRANSFER OF POWER TO THE MAJORITY IN RHODESIA. BUT IF THE CONFERENCE IS NOT CALLED, THEN IT IS HIGHLY PROBABLE THAT AFRICA AND THE WEST WILL FIND THEMSELVES MOVING INEVITABLY INTO IRRECONCILABLE POSITIONS OVER RHODESIA, WITH AT LEAST THE POSSIBILITY OF A KIND OF VIETNAM SITUATION DEVELOPING. I HAVE MADE THIS VERY CLEAR, BOTH TO YOUR AMBASSADOR AND TO THE BRITISH ACTING HIGH COMMISSIONER.

THE TROUBLE IS THAT I SEE THE POSSIBILITY OF THIS KIND OF THING HAPPENING VERY FAST - EVEN WITHIN A FEW DAYS. THERE ARE TIMES WHEN ONE HAS TO ACT QUICKLY OR THE OPPORTUNITY HAS GONE, AND I BELIEVE THIS IS ONE OF THEM. YET EVEN NOW

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I THINK WE COULD STILL JUST 'SEIZE TIME BY THE COAT-TAILS' THROUGH AN ANNOUNCEMENT THAT BECAUSE YOUR GOVERNMENTS DO NOT ACCEPT THE 'INTERNAL SETTLEMENT', BRITAIN - WITH AMERICA'S FULL BACKING - IS CALLING A CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE TO REACH A SETTLEMENT ON THE BASIS OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS.

MR. PRESIDENT: FORGIVE ME FOR THIS LONG LETTER,
IN THE REALISATION THAT IT COMES OUT OF THE DEPTH OF MY
CONCERN TO MAINTAIN THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES
AND OUR ACTIVE COOPERATION IN SUPPORT OF THE PRINCIPLES OF
HUMAN EQUALITY AND FREEDOM WHICH WE BOTH SHARE.

YOURS VERY SINCERELY,
END TEXT. SPAIN UNQUOTE. CHRISTOPHER

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